

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3001

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C O N F I D E N T I A L NICOSIA 0317

EXDIS

E. O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR CY UK UN TU GR

SUBJECT: CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS

BRITISH HIGH COMMISSION HAS PASSED US IN CONFIDENCE
CABLE REPORTING HICOMER GORDON'S MEETING WITH DENKTASH
FEBRUARY 2:

BEGIN TEXT:

1. WHEN I TOOK BRIGEDIER THOMPSON TO SEE DENKTASH
RZODAY, HE SAID HE HAD JUST HAD A MESSAGE FROM WALDHEIM
PROPOSING THAT THE VIENNA MEETING SHOULD BE IN THE
CONTINUING CONTEXT OF THE PREVIOUS INTERCOMMUNAL
NEGOTIATIONS AND THAT THERE SHOULD BE DISCUSSION OF
SUBSTANCE. DENKTASH SAID THIS WAS ACCEPTABLE TO
HIM BUT, HE ADDED (I THOUGHT WITH SOME SATISFACTION),
MIGHT WELL NOT BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE OTHER SIDE, TO
WHOM THE MESSAGE WAS ALSO BEING CONVEYED.

2. IN REPLY TO MY QUESTION, HE SAID THAT WALDHEIM'S
PROPOSAL MEANT THAT CLERIDES AND HE WOULD MEET AS
BEFORE WITHOUT

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ADVISERS PRESENT. CLERIDES COULD

HAVE ALL THE ADVISERS HE WANTED WITH HIM IN VIENNA,
BUT NOT IN THE RMU
FEL ROOM OR AT SEMI-OFFICIAL
MEETINGS OUTSIDE, E.G. OVER A MEAL. I ASKED
WHETHER IT WAS AGREEABLE TO HIM THAT THERE SHOULD
BE DISCUSSION OF SUBSTANCE AND HE CONFIRMED THAT
IT WAS. WHEN I SOUGHT TO CLARIFY WHAT HE CONSTRUED
THIS AS MEANING,
HE SAID HE ENVISAGED STAYING THREE
OR FOUR DAYS IN VIENNA (THIS REPRESENTS SOME INCREASE
IN HIS EARLIER ESTIMATE OF A DAY OR TWO). HE WAS
PREPARED TO HEAR CLERIDES' PROPOSALS TAKE PRITORY.
HE DID NOT EXPECT THESE TO BE ACCEPTABLE, BUT HE
WOULD BE PREPARED TO COMMENT ON THEM. HOWEVER, HE
HIMSELF COULD NOT SAY ANYTHING OF SUBSTANCE ON
TERRITORY UNLESS HE HAD REPRESENTATIVES OF THE
ANKARA GOVERNMENT AT HIS SIDE. THIS WOULD HAVE TO
BE PURSUED IN COMMITTEE IN NICOSIA. HE RECOGNIZED
THAT NICOSIA HAD DRAWBACKS, NOT LEAST THE PRESENCE
OF A VOCIFEROUS PRESS, BUT THERE WAS NO BETTER
ALTERNATIVE SINCE ALL THIS WAS GOING TO TAKE A LONG
TIME. HE ACCEPTED THAT THERE MUST BE CONTINUITY
IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. HE ENVISAGED THE TWO COMMITTEES
AS BOTH WORKING UNDER THE DIRECTION OF CLERIDES AND
HIMSELF. SOMETIMES HE AND CLERIDES WOULD NEED TO
HAVE FURTHER MEETINGS AND SOMETIMES THEY MIGHT
NEED TO BRING IN WALDHEIM.

3. HE PREFACED THIS WITH THE USUAL DIATRIBE
AGAINST MAKARIOS, ARGUING THAT THE ARCHBCSHOP
HAD NOT CHANGED HIS POSITION THAT NO SOLUTION
WAS POSSIBLE SO LONG AS HE REMAINED. HE CONCEDED,
RELUCTANTLY, THAT ENOSIS WAS OUT FOR THE MOMENT,
BUT MAINTAINED THAT MAKARIOS WOULD REVERT TO THIS
AGAIN LATER IF IT SUITED HIM. I SUGGESTED THAT
THERE WAS NO ADVANTAGE IN ENOSIS FOR MAKARIOS AND
INDEED A GOOD DEAL OF OBVIOUS DISADVANTAGE, BUT
HE WAS NOT PERSUADED. HIS MAIN THESIS WAS THAT FOR
THE FIRST TIME FOR YEARS, THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS FELT
SECURE. THE PRESENT SITUATION SUITED THEM.
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WHY SHOULD HE MAKE ANY CONCESSIONS BEFORE HE WAS
CONVINCED OF THE SINCERITY OF GREEK CYPRIOT INTENTIONS?
ON SPECIFIC POINTS, HE SAID HE WOULD INSIST ON ONE
HOMOGENEOUS AREA IN THE NORTH FOR THE TURKISH
CYPRIOTS. ON TERRITORIAL ADJUSTMENTS HE SAID
THAT OUTOF THE NOTIONAL 180,000 REFUGEES,
ABOUT 100,000 WERE REALLY REFUGEES. OF THESE, THE
GREATER PART COULD BE RESETTLED ON LAND IN THE

SOUTH VACATED BY TURKISH CYPRIOTS. HE WAS PREPARED TO ENVISAGE A TERRITORIAL ADJUSTMENT OF 2-3 PERCENT TO PROVIDE LAND FOR RESETTLING THE BALANCE AND TO TIDY UP HIS ZONE. BUT THERE COULD BE NO QUESTION OF HANDING BACK MORPHOU OR VAROSHA. THE FORMER HAD BEEN RESETTLED BY TURKISH CYPRIOTS AND THE LATTER WAS NECESSARY FOR THE SECURITY OF FAMAGUSTA HLRBF R. I PRESSED HIM ON VAROSHA, BUT HE WAS ADAMANT, ALTHOUGH HE SAID SOME GREEK CYPRIOTS COULD BE ALLOWED BACK TO RUN THE HOTELS. HE ALSO ACCEPTED THAT SOME GREEKS COULD BE ALLOWED INTO THE EVENTUAL TURKISH ZONE, AND VICE VERSA, ON THE BASIS OF RECIPROCITY AND INDIVIDUAL SCRUTINY.

4. ON THIS EVIDENCE IT DOES NOT NOW LOOK AS IF DENKTASH IS GOING TO WALK OUT OF VIENNA ON THE GROUNDS THAT IMERIDES' OPENING PROPOSAL ON TERRITORY IS MANIFESTLY UNREALISTIC (ALTHOUGH HE CLEARLY EXPECTS THAT, FROM HIS POINT OF VIEW, IT WILL BE). HE NOW APPEARS TO ACCEPT THE NEED FOR CONTINUITY IN NEGOTIATION, AND INDEED VOLUNTEERED THE COMMENT THAT CONTINUING CONTACT BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES WAS NECESSARY. IF THE ASSUMPTION THAT WHAT HE SAID REPRESENTS AN INITIAL BARGAINING BRITTON, THERE IS A VERY LONG WAY TO GO TO REACH ANYTHING WHICH STANDS SOME CHANCE OF ACCEPTANCE BY THE GREEK CYPRIOTS. BUT DESPITE HIS REPEATED ASSERTIONS THAT NO SETTLEMENT IS POSSIBLE BY ILE MAKARIOS REMAINS, HE DOES SEEM TO ENVISAGE A PROTRACTED PERIOD OF CONTINUING CONTACT AND NEGOTIATION. ON PAST FORM, HE IS QUITE LIKELY
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TO CHANGE HIS POSITION AGAIN AT ANY TIME, BUT AT THE MOMENT IT SEEMS TO HAVE CHANGED SLIGHTLY FOR THE BETTER. END TEXT.
CRAWFORD

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